

A  
FIFTH LETTER  
FROM  
The FARMER,  
TO THE  
FREE and INDEPENDENT ELECTORS of  
the CITY of DUBLIN.

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DUBLIN:  
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER in Essex-street.  
MDCCXLIX.

A  
LITTLE LETTER

FROM

THE FARMER,

TO THE

LAND AND TENANT ELECTORS OF  
DUBLIN.



DUBLIN:

Printed by George F. Newman, in London.  
M.DCCC.

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A FIFTH

LETTER

F R O M

The FARMER, &c.

*My Countrymen,*

ONCE upon a Time, the Sheep of a certain Place perceived, that, through the Cowardice of many, the Indolence of most, and the Want of Unanimity in the whole Flock, they were perpetually exposed to Invasions and Ravages. They therefore determined on the Election of some Creature for their Guardian, who by the Extent of his Knowledge should be capable of their Interests, and by the Depth of his Integrity should insure their Confidence and Repose.

PROCLAMATION

PROCLAMATION was accordingly made, their Intention was published ; and instantly, Creatures of all Species became urgent for this Office.

It is wonderful and pleasing to reflect, on this Occasion, that, though no Matter of Profit was annexed to the Employment ; yet, the several Pretenders solicited, they promised, they threatened, they bribed, they sued to each Individual apart, they tried all Wiles to compass this barren Post : Such is the great Power of Virtue and Benevolence, so very common a Thing is disinterested Labour, so universal is Patriotism and a public Spirit.

AMONG many Animals, whose Pretensions I shall, for the present, decline to mention ; the *Wolf*, the *Fox*, and the *Mastiff*, were admitted as Candidates ; each flourished at large on his proper Abilities, and with due Oratory set forth the peculiar Reasons of his Claim.

My Friends, said the Mastiff, I come before you this Day, not to request a Favour, but to sue for Acceptance, not to demand a Benefit, but to make a Tender of Service.

You are not to consider, on this important Occasion, what may be due out of Friendship, out of Gratitude, out of Partiality to any living. If any one among you is obliged or indebted, let him be grateful and just ; but let him not discharge his private Incumbrances at the infinite Expence of public Damage.

It is the Interest of *yourselves* and not of your *Candidates*, the Advantage of the *Electors* and not of the *elected*,



*elect*ed, that ought, in any measure, to influence the Choice you are to make : For if Freedom and good Counsel shall guide your Determination, great will be the *Benefits* you provide for your *Flock*, *Toil and Care* will be the only Portion you confer on your *Guardian*.

WHEREFORE, if you know any, more capable, more active, more zealous for your Service, less attached to private Interest, more informed with a Love of public Welfare, than myself ; it will be your Duty as well as your Policy to reject me : For wherefore should I be incumbered with personal Trouble, if the general Emolument may not thereby ensue ?

How far I may be partial to my own Talents I know not ; but, sure it is, that if I did not think myself equal, as I feel myself willing and warm to this Task ; I should not have applied for so toilsome a Preference. It is in you alone to judge the Merits of your Candidates ; and I trust your Judgment will be prudent ; I know it ought to be free.

It is therefore, that I have not solicited, I have not sued, I have made use of no private Influence, I have laid hold of no personal Friendship or Attachment, to obtain your Voices for the Employment to which I now pretend. The sole Advantage I look for, is to be thought worthy of your Confidence ; the sole Honour, to be deemed capable of so superior a Burden.

It is in this Prospect alone, that I acknowledge I have an Ambition, an Eagerness, as I may say, for your Appointment to so glorious a Task. Why should such a Spirit be thought a Thing incredible ? Every one is born with a certain Portion of Love, some with less, some with more, some with Affections  
that

that are clofeted and condensed, as it is the Lot and Delight of mine to be open and expanded.

NEITHER have thefe Affections been hitherto barren of Benefits to this Flock. Would you know what I would do, reflect on what I have done for you. Judge the Future by the paft. Let your Expectation be built on Experience ; and where I may be deficient in Self-commendation, let my Actions be my Orators, and let your Memory fupply the Tongue that may be wanting in my Favour.

BEHOLD this Nakednefs and this Poverty ; I am neither cloathed with your Fleeces, nor fattened with the Flefh of your Lambs : In my Wants I have watched over you, and in my Hunger I have kept you from becoming a Prey.

OBSERVE your Walks and your Boundaries ; I have fearched out your ancient Limits ; I have enquired into the Meafure of your Folds ; I have opened the Extent of your Paltures. I have afferted what you held ; I have reclaimed what you have loft ; fome of your Bounds I have enlarged, and nothing is lapsed among you fince I firft attempted your Protection.

I HOPE my Services will not be confidered as lefs affectionate for being voluntary, or as lefs difinterested for being done without Fee or Reward. If you fhall judge it expedient to appoint me to higher Employments, if you are inclined to honour me with any Marks of your Confidence, I fhall receive them as Incitements to encreafing Duty, I fhall accept them as Obligations to a warmer Zeal. For I cannot become lefs diligent for being commiffioned to Action, nor lefs faithful for being entrusted with your Wellfare and Repofe.

HERE

HERE the *Mastiff* ended, and the *Fox* rose up.

GENTLE Flock, said *Reynard*, listen not to what that sly Dog may pretend, neither suffer yourselves to be duped by the Subtilty of his Insinuations. We all know his Propensity to Business and to Barking; and I aver that he hath effected some small Service to our Fold. For I was never of an envious or maligning Nature. A generous Temper will give Praise even to the Appearance of Merit.

THE Gods grant that the Creature may be sincere in what he hath done, and that it may not be a Pit, sunk, for your deeper Perdition. He never offended me; I have no Objection to his Advancement; in any private Concern I should wish well to the poor Animal. It is for your Sake alone that I am jealous, it is your Interest that makes me tremble.

*Timeo Danaos et Dona ferentes.* That is to say, a Politician will fear the Snake that may lye hid, under florid Show, and proffered Service. The Truth is, that I never liked these furious Friendships, this supererogating Zeal, this Frenzy of Patriotism; it is a Fermentation whose Substance boils over at the Top; the Bottom is all hollow and unessential.

WHAT Thunders will sometimes arise from Vapour, what Attempts from Vanity! how are we alarmed at the Noise and Bluster of the Elements, till we reflect that it is occasioned, by nothing but Wind. I am confident that People of your good Understanding, will consider Things deeper than their mere Shews and Appearances. Your Fleece is not your Flesh, the outward Garment is not of a Piece with the

the Body it conceals, and the Vessel ever differeth in Nature and in Substance from the Reality and Tendency of the Liquor that is contained therein. So differeth the Substance of this Mastiff's Machinations, from the Garb that he hath assumed in order to disguise them.

Trust me, his Sentiments of Patriotism are very prettily expressed; fine Notes in Music, an airy Kind of Inhabitants, the elaborate Composition and Quintessence of Sound. But how, think you, will these delicate Entities, these Forms of the Imagination, withstand the Frost of Penury, or abide the Fire of Probation? Do ye find the Reality of their Existence in yourselves, is each of you ready to be sacrificed for the Flock? if not, wherefore do ye credit the Profession in another? can you be so ignorant as not to apprehend what the Strut and the Boast of such Paraders must signify? and that He who walks so steadily and courageously to the Altar, can never intend Himself for the Oblation or the Victim.

I ADMIT that he has thrust himself, busily enough, into your Concerns; I allow that his Actions carry some Merit toward you, whatever may be the Motive that lurketh beneath. But, had he any other Method to effect your Ruin? Small Services are political Ladders, the very Steps to intended Mischief. A Person must first gain your Commission and your Confidence, before he can possibly be enabled to betray you.

You are not now to be informed, my dear and tender Brethren, of the natural Fierceness and dire Bent of this Animal. That he hath hitherto restrained his Propensity to Violence among you, shews as amazing a Check of Temper, as Profoundness of Stratagem.



tagem. His bridled Wrath and his Rapaciousness are layed up for you in Store. Can any innocent Passenger travel the Road, without being disturbed or terrified by his perpetual grumble? Beware of the Teeth that are now so often shewn in your favour. The Day will come that may find them a different Employment; when he shall turn them to the worrying of that very Flock, whom thus uncalled, thus uncommissioned, he takes upon him to defend.

I MAY aver that such Depredations will be pardonable in him; for were his Nature wholly free from that Malice and Treachery which may fearfully be imputed to the whole Tenor of his Conduct; yet his Poverty must subject him to irresistible Assaults, for who can patiently endure under perpetual Goadings, the Keanness of Hunger and the Ravenings of Want?

THE Gods be praised, my gentle Brothers, this is not the Situation of all your Candidates. There are some of us who have Wealth superfluous to our own Occasions, wherewith to enrich our Minions and to gratify our Favourites. I have my Poultry Yards, and my clovered Pastures whereof I never taste, to regale a visiting Sheep, or any Friend of the Flock.

WERE I of a ravenous Nature, yet the Temptation would be taken away. The Rich can have no Appetites that are not already satiated; all my Wishes and Desires are fulfilled from my own Stores.

CAN you then hesitate a Moment on whom you should fix your Choice? on the Person who is prompted by his Abundance to supply and oblige you; or on the Person who is goaded by his Penury to seek your Damage? on him who wants for nothing but an Opportunity to serve you; or on him who



hath no Means of serving himself, but by taking your Wool for his Covering, and your Flesh for his Prey.

Here the Fox was seated, and the Wolf arose.

CONSCIOUS Grandeur and Dignity were apparent in his Mien ; and he wore the finest Fleece conspicuous on his Shoulders, which in some Measure he had disguised from the Observation of the Flock, by a little Tincture of Purple and the Art of the Loom.

He spoke, and smiled superior.

My very honest and innocent Neighbours——On Solemnities of this Nature, there is, no doubt, a kind of Ceremony and Form to be observed ; for though no one can suppose you so ignorant of your Duty, as not previously to know where your Election must light ; yet Appearances should be regarded, a kind of Pretension to something called *Choice*, or *Liberty* ; which, for aught I know, might formerly have had some *Meaning* in your Constitution.

WHEN the Great condescend to ask, and the Mighty put in their Claim ; I cannot choose but smile at the amazing Insolence of puny Competitors. In your Nomination of me, you can confer no Honours ; yours alone will be the Glory and the Advantage of such an Election. Power is the natural Ally of Weakness, and who shall dare to Appeal against the Plea of Authority ?

In respect to the Pretensions of my Puppy Rival yonder, our Cousin *Reynard* hath spoke with his accustomed Wisdom, and therein hath saved me a Trouble I am well enough pleased to avoid ; since I could never boast much of your Patriot Appetites for Fatigue.

Fatigue. Yet, my Neighbours, you may hold it prudent to treasure this further Hint in your Memory ——— that whoever shews himself the Abettor or Favourer of that same Snarler, declares himself an Enemy to all the Beasts in the Forest.

To what an everlasting Grumble the Wretch is stirred up, by his secret Repinings and Envyings at his unregarding Superiors. How speedily we could crush him and all his Adherents to nothing. Let him not be alarmed however ; he is safe in his Meanness, his Protection is ensured by our Contempt. ——— But a very little of this may be too much, upon a Subject so infinitely beneath our Notice.

IN regard to myself, and with respect to that indefeasible Claim which I hold to this Election, it is too evident, to admit the Possibility of a Controversion, in the Dignity of my own Person, and in the Power of my Alliances. Large are the Domains in which I range, neither have the Fences of others been hitherto able to set a Limit to my Walks. I am further strengthened by the Force of many Friends, and by my Kindred among all the Brutes that are of any Nobility,

I SHALL not give you or myself much Trouble upon this Subject, Rhetoric may have its Use where there is Occasion to persuade. In your Election of a Person, such as I am, deputed under the due Influence and Fangs of Authority, you will do well to crouch in Safety beneath so broad a Protection. But were it possible for you to decline this Tender of our Guardianship : We shall be apt to interpret your Refusal into an open Declaration of Hostilities ; and when the Forests begin to howl, and my Brethren of the Mountains descend, who then shall be able to wrest you from the Keeness of our Resentment ?

The

THE Wolf closed his Harangue, a long Murmur ensued; when at length a Ram stepped forth from the Midst of the Flock; and after a modest Pause addressed the Assembly as follows,

My dear Kindred and dearer Friends——I am, as you see, a Native of this Fold, simple therefore in my Speech, but very honest in my Intention. I hope then that you will excuse the Absence of the Orator, and take up with Expressions of a downright and honest Heart.

As I imagine we are come together, not in the Way of Joke, but seriously to consult on the Welfare of our Flock; I shall give you my Thoughts with as much Freedom as good Will.

I WILL first remark to you, that since it is our own Good alone which is the Thing to be considered in our Choice of a Guardian; we ought not to wait, till a Kind of People called *Candidates* bespeak us for themselves. If we are to choose for ourselves, we ought also to search for ourselves; each of us should have looked abroad; we should have examined into Actions, Characters, and their Causes; we should have made a thorough Inquiry into Merit; and have delivered a faithful Return of our several Discoveries to the Fold, that so by the joint Consent of all our Brethren, the worthiest might be picked out from among the Worthy.

THE first Advantage, that would arise from this Method, would be, in its giving us a greater Scope for Election. We should not then be confined to five or to fifty Candidates. We would have the World from whence we might cull at leisure and at large;  
and

and if we did not fix on a Guardian fit for our Purpose, the Fault would lie in our Want of Discernment, and not in the Scarcity of Virtue.

A SECOND great Advantage would arise from this Method, in making our Election wholly free, and independent of any kind of Influence whatever; since we would then choose by our own Will, and by our own Judgment; without regard to Offers, Addressee, Recommendations, or Authorities. We would then, as it were, search for the Liquor we liked, without having it pressed and compelled to our Lips.

A THIRD grand Advantage would arise from this Method, in the extraordinary Obligation we should lay on our *Guardian*. He would not then be his own *Offerer*; he would be our *Elect* alone. We would not pay him the trifling Compliment, of preferring him to a Few, perhaps of little Merit; we would distinguish him by our Choice from among all living Creatures. Such a Preference would bind him tenfold to our Persons, and to our Interests. The Guards of Honour and Gratitude would be doubled upon his Fidelity; and the Cry of Shame and Reproach would be doubled upon his Treason.

If in Modesty he should happen to decline this special Honour, it would then be our Business to entreat, and by our Caresses *to compell him to come in*. But if the Necessity of his private Affairs, or his private Indigence were any Obstacle; it would be our public Interest to allot him an Equivalent for his Damage, and a Reward for his Toil: So should he be bound to us in the twofold Trust of a commissioned Guardian, and of a hired Servant; and we should take away from him all kind of Pretence, for defraying his private Cost at the Expence of public Liberty.

THESE,



THESE, my beloved Brothers, are Hints and Advices, which you may think good to apply, or improve upon future Occasions. But for the present we must attend, where we are more immediately called.

*Then turning to the Wolf, he thus continued——*

To you, my Lord, I first address myself, as to the Person of greatest Dignity, and who ought therefore to have a Right to the greatest Respect.

I OBSERVE, that your Lordship hath declared, with much Frankness, that we have nothing but the mere Form of Liberty left among us, and this, you say, ought to be preserved.

BUT, my Lord, can the Appearance of any Thing be better than its Reality? if the very Shadow of Liberty is valuable, how much more the Substance! and since you have made us sensible that it is a Good which we have lost, what shall hinder us from endeavouring to recover the Blessing?

BEFORE I speak to your Objections against others of our Candidates; I think it first my Duty to take Notice of your Lordship's superior Claim. The Honour, which you say we should confer upon ourselves, in the Election of your Lordship, I acknowledge is great; but the Advantage we should receive thereby, is not altogether so apparent: For though *Power*, as you well observe, is the strongest *Ally of Weakness*, I doubt it might prove the strongest *Enemy* also; and might still be rendered more capable of our *Damage* and *Destruction*, by being received into our *Trust*, and into our *Bosoms*.

THERE



THERE is no Doubt but that your Lordship, so powerfully supported by your noble Kindred and Alliances, would be well able to defend us from all other Assailants. But in case you should at any Time seek Occasion of Offence ; who then would defend us against the Power of our *Guardians* ? who could preserve us from such *Preservers* ?

It is therefore, with much Regret, that I, who am really under private Obligations to my Superiors in the Forest, find myself thus singled out, in Behalf of this Flock, to give your Lordship the Mortification of a Refusal. To acquaint you, that if your Threats mean any Thing further, than to terrify us into your Measures ; we choose rather all to perish in one Effort for virtuous Liberty, than to beget a Generation of Victims, and to breed up our Lambs merely for the Tusk and the Talon.

To acquaint you, notwithstanding, that we are very far from intending or tempting any Kind of Hostilities. But, whatever that Authority may be by which your Lordship is recommended ; we should justly be accounted the most dastardly of all Sheep, should we admit you for our Guardian while you are cloathed in our Spoils, while you insult that very Flock, whom you address for Favours, with the Prospect of a Fleece upon your Shoulders.

To you next, Mr. *Reynard*, I think good to pay my Respects ; and I do assure you in the Name of all my Fraternity, that we are thoroughly convinced of your great Talents and Understanding, and that there is no Person breathing whom we would prefer to your Worship, were we equally convinced of the Greatness of your Integrity ; for Capacity is alike applicable

plicable to Evil as to Good, and how dangerous would such an Experiment prove, where the Extent of your Genius might serve to widen our Destruction.

In your long Dissertation on the Merits of this Mastiff; I perceive that you allow the Facts, though you tremble for the Motives; you even aver that the Effects are good, though you assign evil Causes. Indeed, Sir, you have been at a vast Expence of Oratory and Sweat, in order to persuade us that all Appearances are deceitful; that there is no Certainty of Dependence among the Things of Mortality; that the Nature of Dogs and Sheep will not admit of absolute Perfection; and that for aught you see we are universally a Flock of Scoundrels.

BUT, good Sir, if even Benefits are to be distrusted, and that the best Services are suspicious; what Judgement are we to form of the new Zeal of an old Enemy, and of the Friendship of a Fox?

IF, as you alledge, the Love and Kindness, of this Mastiff to our Fold, hath been overmuch; it is a very allowable Cause of Exception to our Enemies, but we who feel the Benefit can dispense with the Abundance thereof.

It is impossible, you say, he should have done so much Good to the Flock, without some evil and sinister Intention. Here the Good is allowed, the Evil only conjectured; the Advantage is real, the Mischief merely imaginary: But if Benefits effected are to be taken as Instances of Damages designed, why may not Evil executed be as equal a Proof of Good intended?

IF you take our present Seat or Pillar from under us, what other Place will you assign for our Standing  
or

or Repose? If the Deeds of Friendship are not to be trusted, and that a long Train of Services are no Proofs of Affection; we request you to inform us where we can better fix our Confidence.

You further assert, that, were there no other Objection to this Mastiff but his Poverty, that, alone, must subject him to irresistible Temptations: But, Sir, if he wants the Appetites of the Wealthy, he hath no need of their Abundance; and had he used the Means of some Neighbours for laying up of Riches, he would not now have been subject to this Reproach.

WE admit, however, that this, our Friend, hath his Sufficiency of Failings; it had been too much to have bestowed on any one Creature, such a Treasure of Virtues, without their natural Allay of Frailty. But if *Wolves* and *Foxes* had no Room to find Fault with his *Barking* and his *Snarling*; I know that *Sheep* would have no Cause for praising those *Talents* in him. We do not however vindicate the Abundance of his Wrath, and are truly grieved if he hath at any Time offended the Innocent. But should we take upon us to controul those Qualities in him; how might our Fold be exposed, and our Lambs become a Prey.

BUT if our Mastiff grumbles he doth not fawn also; and with respect to his Merits for this Election, I am only concerned that he hath been prevailed upon to declare himself a Candidate; since thereby he hath deprived us of the Opportunity we wished, of distinguishing him by every Honour we could offer, not only from his Fellow Candidates, but from all other Creatures.

WITH regard to the Merits of our *honest Patron Reynard*, when he boasts of his Riches, there is no

Question of his Veracity : All our Doubt is, in respect of the Means by which he came by them. His generous Offers of a Share thereof to the Individuals of this Flock, are, I own, very tempting. But should we be such Traytors, as to admit the Consideration of private Interest, when the Welfare of the Public is alone in Debate ; who shall assure us, that, on our making a Visit to his Worship, instead of being *cloathed*, we may not return *shorn* ; that, instead of bringing back the *Reward of our Treachery*, we may not happen to *leave a Fleece behind* ?

It is a shrewd and ancient Proverb, that, *when the Family of Foxes grows rich and prosperous, the Sheep may justly reckon upon Loss and Damage.*

Here ends the Fable—the Application follows.

*The End of the* FIFTH LETTER.

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